

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 054529
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 IO-13 ARA-10 HA-05 /099 R

DRAFTED BY AF/C:WLCUTLER:LDJUNIOR:GJB
APPROVED BY AF:RMMOOSE
P:GMOOSE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T STATE 054529

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CG, AO

SUBJECT: ZAIRIAN FONMIN UMBA'S CALLS ON SECRETARY VANCE AND
ASST. SECRETARY MOOSE: ANGOLAN-ZAIRIAN RELATIONS

1. DURING HIS CALL ON SECRETARY MARCH 1, FONMIN UMBA
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BRIEFLY ASSESSED STATE OF ZAIRIAN/ANGOLAN RELATIONS.
ZAIRE WOULD LIKE TO NORMALIZE ITS RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA,
BUT THE PROBLEM IS DIFFICULT SINCE NETO IS NO LONGER IN
CHARGE.

2. TO REINFORCE THIS CONTENTION, UMBA CITED PROBLEMS
DEALING WITH A GOVERNMENT SUSTAINED BY 23,000 FOREIGN

TROOPS, WHERE RUMANIANS AND HUNGARIANS RUN THE CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT, AND WHERE THE CHIEF OF STATE GOES NOWHERE , WITHOUT A CLUSTER ("15 OR 20") OF CUBAN, PRAETORIAN GUARDS. THE MPLA CONGRESS IN DECEMBER HAD ESTABLISHED CLEARLY THAT NETO IS NO LONGER THE UNQUESTIONED LEADER. IN FACT NETO HAD COMMENTED TO ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR TO LAGOS DURING NETO'S NIGERIAN VISIT THAT HE, NETO, WANTED A MEETING WITH THE GOZ BUT THAT HE "HAD TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WHAT'S GOING ON AROUND ME". IN FACT AT THAT MEETING AT BRAZZAVILLE, THE ANGOLAN DELEGATION SEEMED TO HAVE NO AUTHORITY, WAS DILATORY THROUGH ALWAYS "HAVING TO RECEIVE

INSTRUCTIONS" FROM LUANDA.

3. UMBA FURTHER MADE THIS POINT BY RECALLING THAT ON A RECENT OCCASION HE HAD CALLED IN THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO ZAIRE TO COMPLAIN AGAINST MILITARY TRAINING BEING GIVEN KATANGANS IN ANGOLA. SINCE CONCILIATORY LETTER ARRIVED FROM NETO WITHIN THREE DAYS FOR PRESIDENT MOBUTU, UMBA FELT THERE WAS CLEAR PROOF OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN LUANDA.

4. ANGOLA WAS PRINCIPAL POINT DISCUSSED WITH UMBA DURING SUBSEQUENT MEETING SAME DAY WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE. MOOSE SAID THERE WAS A GENERAL CONSENSUS IN WASHINGTON THAT THE CUBANS SHOULD LEAVE ANGOLA BUT
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DIFFERING VIEWS ON HOW BEST TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL. ONE VIEW WAS THAT THE NETO REGIME SHOULD BE OVERTHROWN, AND TO THAT END UNITA AND PERHAPS FNLA SHOULD BE HELPED TO BRING GREATER MILITARY PRESSURE ON LUANDA. ANOTHER QUITE DIFFERENT VIEW WAS THAT BY ACHIEVING A SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA WE COULD REDUCE THE PERCEIVED THREAT TO ANGOLA FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA; BY THE SAME TOKEN, NORMALIZATION OF ZAIRIAN-ANGOLAN RELATIONS WOULD REDUCE THE PERCEIVED THREAT FROM THE NORTH. THESE STEPS, TOGETHER WITH TERMINATION OF ASSISTANCE TO UNITA, WOULD WEAKEN THE JUSTIFICATION FOR MAINTAINING CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA AND FACILITATE OAU OR UN EFFORTS TO PRESS FOR WITHDRAWAL. MOOSE SAID SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SEEMED TO BELIEVE THAT ZAIRE ADHERED TO THE FIRST VIEW, AND THIS CONTRIBUTED TO THEIR CONCERNS THAT INTERACTION BETWEEN ZAIRIAN AND ANGOLAN FORCES ALONG THE BORDER MIGHT LEAD TO INCREASED TENSIONS WHICH COULD EVENTUALLY DRAW THE US INTO THE FRAY. MOOSE ASKED UMBA HOW THE GOZ IN FACT BELIEVED THE CUBAN PROBLEM COULD BEST BE HANDLED.

5. UMBA SAID HE DID NOT AGREE WITH THE FIRST SCENARIO BECAUSE IF NETO WERE OVERTHROWN THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS

WOULD MERELY REPLACE HIM WITH ANOTHER PUPPET. AS FOR THE SECOND VIEW, UMBA BELIEVED THAT EVEN IF THE SECURITY THREATS FROM BOTH OUTSIDE AND INSIDE ANGOLA WERE ELIMINATED, THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS WOULD HAVE NO TROUBLE IN CREATING NEW PRETEXTS FOR RETAINING THEIR PRESENCE IN THE COUNTRY. UMBA THOUGHT THE MOST FEASIBLE COURSE OF ACTION WAS FOR ANGOLA'S NEIGHBORS TO MAINTAIN A STRONG DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

6. AS FOR CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS RE ZAIRE'S ASSISTING ANGOLAN OPPOSITION MOVEMENTS, UMBA CITED VARIOUS STEPS MOBUTU HAD TAKEN TO LIVE UP TO HIS PUBLIC ASSURANCES THAT ZAIRE WOULD NOT INTERVENE IN ANGOLA'S INTERNAL

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AFFAIRS; E.G., PROPOSING A NEUTRAL INSPECTION FORCE ALONG THE BORDER, PROHIBITING BORDER CROSSINGS TO THE POINT WHERE EVEN THE UNHCR HAD COMPLAINED THE GOZ WAS INHIBITING THE FLOW OF REFUGEES, THREATENING TO EXPEL FROM ZAIRE ANY FLEC REPRESENTATIVES ENGAGED IN ATTACKS AGAINST GULF FACILITIES IN CABINDA. IN CONTRAST THE LUANDA REGIME HAD REPEATEDLY DEMONSTRATED ITS UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY TO CONTROL THE BORDER FROM ITS SIDE, AS WAS READILY EVIDENCED BY THE FREEDOM WITH WHICH FLEC OPERATED WITHIN CABINDA. FRANKLY, UMBA SAID, THE GOZ DID NOT SEE WHAT MORE IT COULD DO TO ASSURE BORDER SECURITY, AND HE WELCOMED ANY SUGGESTIONS.

7. MOOSE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE GOZ'S POSITION; AT A MINIMUM IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP OPEN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN KINSHASA AND ANGOLA, AND HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT NETO'S LATEST CONCILIATORY MESSAGE TO MOBUTU MIGHT AUGUR WELL FOR SOME PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION. UMBA ACKNOWLEDGED THE GOZ'S INTENTION TO MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE BUT DID NOT APPEAR OPTIMISTIC THAT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS COULD BE ACHIEVED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 054529
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 /023 R

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DRAFTED BY:EUR:NE:REWOODS

APPROVED BY:EUR:NE:REWOODS, ACTG

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-----098857 141725Z /45

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 0000

S E C R E T STATE 054529

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED MARCH 3,
1978 SENT KINSHASA INFO LISBON, BRUSSELS, PARIS,
ROME, LONDON, THE HAGUE, BONN, OTTAWA, COPENHAGEN,
BRAZZAVILLE, LAGOS IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

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VANCE

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Draft Date: 03 mar 1978
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Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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ISecure: 1
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Line Count: 310
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Litigation Codes:
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Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Review Exemptions: n/a
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Review Release Date: n/a
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Subject: ZAIRIAN FONMIN UMBA'S CALLS ON SECRETARY VANCE AND ASST. SECRETARY MOOSE: ANGOLAN-ZAIRIAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, PDIP, CG, AO, UR, CU, WA, SF, (UMBA DI LUTETE)
To: KINSHASA
Type: TE
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